

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY, BY THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, 39 Nassau Street, New York.

THREE DOLLARS PER ANNUM. AARON M. POWELL, Editor.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, Special Editorial Contributor.

THE PRICE OF ADVERTISING AND CLUB TERMS SEE FOURTH PAGE.

BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Annual Business Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society was held at Bodvorth's Hall, No. 121, Broadway, New York, on Wednesday, May 12th, the President, WENDELL PHILLIPS, presiding.

The meeting was called to order at about half past five, and the president stated that the business in order was to provide for the election of officers, by the appointment of a nominating committee, or otherwise.

Mr. Edward M. Davis, of Philadelphia, the old Board of Officers was re-elected, as follows:

- President, WENDELL PHILLIPS.
- Vice-Presidents, GEORGE SATTIS, New York, GEORGE B. CREWET, D. D., New York, ANNA E. DICKINSON, Pennsylvania, J. C. HARRIS, Pennsylvania, J. G. WHITTIER, Massachusetts, BENJAMIN SNOW, Jr., Massachusetts, PETER LIBBEY, Maine, NATHANIEL WEST, New Hampshire, ELIZABETH B. CLARK, Rhode Island, ARTHUR WHITE, Connecticut, LUCY STONE, New Jersey, THOMAS GARRETT, Delaware, MAHET R. ROBINSON, Ohio, WILLIAM TUCKER, Indiana, THOMAS CHANDLER, Michigan, CROSBY L. MORRIS, Wisconsin, ALBERT J. GORDAN, Illinois, REV. CALVIN GREEN, Minnesota, N. M. HOLMES, Iowa, J. N. HAWKS, South Carolina, C. D. DENNETT, Florida, CORA DANIELS TAPPAN, Louisiana, JOHN OLIVER, Virginia, PROF. J. A. H. WILSON, D. C.

Corresponding Secretary, CHARLES K. WHITPLE.

Recording Secretary, AARON M. POWELL.

Treasurer, RICHARD P. HALLLOWELL.

- Executive Committee, WENDELL PHILLIPS, EDWARD M. DAVIS, JOHN T. SALTIST, RICHARD P. HALLLOWELL, FARRAH J. NOWELL, CAROLINE H. FURNACE, REV. H. CANNON, ADRIAN K. FOSTER, E. D. HYDE, E. M. DAVIS, ROBERT PETER, J. M. FOSTER, CHARLES L. REASON.

The President then read the first resolution of the series proposed at the public meeting yesterday, by the executive committee, and it was adopted, as follows:

Resolved, That we look back with profound gratitude to the friends of the cause who, during the past year, have effectively all things have worked together for the promotion of justice and securing impartiality, and we recognize with especial satisfaction the vast stride which the Nation has made within the last twelve months.

The second resolution was then read, as follows: Resolved, That we see in the XIVth Amendment proposed to the National Constitution, the cap-stone and completion of our movement; the fulfillment of our promise to the Negro race; since it secures to them equal political rights with the white race, or, if any single clause should still disallow, places it in such circumstances that they can easily achieve it. And we urge upon every abolitionist the utmost possible exertion to make sure of its speedy ratification of this indispensable guaranty; and, if it is necessary to such result, we beg Congress to pass as many States out of Texas as will put the ratification beyond question.

THE PRESIDENT.—The friends will remember that Senator Wilson said, what is the very gist of this resolution, that if any single right is doubtful, that they can easily achieve it. A race that holds in its hands one half the votes of South Carolina, can easily dictate to the other half that it shall be voted for as well as vote; and there is no State where the mass of colored voters are not sufficient, within twelve months, to secure that result. In the Northern States, it might take longer, but in Ohio, 25,000 colored voters—and there are probably from 15 to 25,000—could easily make a close contest, dictate that condition to one or another of the contending parties. I am very glad to hear that there are States in the Union which will vote extra-territorially under their own constitutions, that a voter actually surrenders the right to be voted for. Although that is not the case, it would be States where that principle would be applied.

MR. FOSTER.—It seems to me that the point is not whether the vote is the principal, and shall he not be able to vote to the agent? Is not the creator greater than the created?

THE PRESIDENT.—The friends will remember that there are four States out of Texas. You remember how arrogantly, as abolitionists, we protested against the annexation of Texas; we now "see the emperor through his own pretence." It may not be necessary to do it, but we retain the right to do it, if it is necessary. Connected with yesterday, and Senator Wilson says there is no doubt that the XIVth Amendment, within a fortnight, will ratify the more doubtful, Rhode Island, which is a little more doubtful, makes the last Wednesday of this month.

From the carry Rhode Island, we then add New Hampshire, making the first of June, and there will give us 23. Vermont meets in September.

There is no doubt she will ratify, which will make either Oregon, Wisconsin, Texas, Virginia or Mississippi, without preliminary ratification, which will give us 28 States, before the first of January, and we need

The question was then put, and the second resolution adopted.

The President read the third resolution, as follows: Resolved, That we hail with cordial welcome the wise and statesmanlike words of the President, in his inaugural address, commencing with the words, "I have seen the past, and I have seen the future," as also his auspicious movement toward impartial liberty by putting colored men into important and honorable offices.

The Tribune observes this morning, with a singular observance to events, that this is the first time an Anti-Slavery Convention was called. President. I thought we had some little reason to praise President Lincoln once or twice during his incumbency.

MR. DAVIS.—I hope you will not hurry those resolutions through. There are several of our friends in the back part of the room whom we should be glad to hear. Mr. Turner, of Georgia, from whom we did not hear yesterday, is present, and Mr. Simms also.

MR. A. M. POWELL.—I hope Mr. Turner will come forward and address the meeting.

THE PRESIDENT.—Mr. Turner is one of the expected speakers, as you have invited me expelled because guilty of a skin not colored like the Democrats.

SPEECH OF H. M. TURNER.

Mr. President and Members of the Anti-Slavery Society.—I am sorry that I am not prepared, this morning, to address you. I had looked forward to this meeting with a great deal of pleasure, and intended to make such remarks as I could.

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to a great extent, because Mr. Johnson held a sword over his head every moment. When Gen. Meade got there, we thought we were going to have a true friend. But he attempted to stand so straight between the parties that he leaned over towards the Democrats. When our last election came off, he did not give his moral influence in behalf of the Republican party, as he should have done; and although men were denied their seats, to which they were rightfully entitled, by a false and corrupt counting of the votes, he has never corrected the evil.

When the Legislature met in Atlanta, the House of Representatives had a majority of Democrats, the Senate had a majority of Republicans. Things went on for a few weeks peacefully, and when we attempted to elect two Senators, the Democrats offered to send a certain colored man there, provided that six colored men would help them elect a Democrat. But the black men could not stand that point, and declined to send a black man to the United States Senate, if he had to work his way through a shower of hisses and curses from the nation; and we knew that every Republican in the country would scorn and loathe such conduct in us, though we did succeed in getting elected. They allowed the Senate of the United States. When they found they could not corrupt us, they went to work on a few so-called white Republicans, and succeeded in bribing or influencing in some way enough to send two conservatives, if not Democrats, to the United States Senate. One of them is Hon. Joshua Hill. He has been said to be a great deal of a hypocrite, and I have heard him say that he had no objection to the colored man, but that he could not stand the odium of the Republican party, there, as I hoped would enlist your sympathies, and lead you to give us the aid of your influence with the Congress of the United States, to induce them to come to our relief. Since my arrival here, however, I have been quite ill, and I am therefore not prepared to address you this morning. However, as you have invited me to stand, I will make a few remarks, if it is your pleasure. (Calls of "Go on.")

I congratulate you, ladies and gentlemen, on the great results that have crowned your labors. I have long read of the Anti-Slavery Society. I have read much about the distinguished President, Mr. Phillips, and other distinguished persons, and that I have had the pleasure of seeing since my arrival here. One might have thought, from reading the newspapers, and judging from them not only of your character, but of your personal appearance, that you resemble what our Southern friends thought the Yankees looked like—monsters with great horns. I find, however, that you are the purest specimens of humanity; I believe that your ideas are the purest ideas, and that your conception of right and justice is the grandest that has ever dwelt upon the American soil. All that you want, all you have labored for, is set forth in the Bible, and all that you need is to have it put into law. I have seen the Bible, and I have seen the law, and I have seen the people who have brought it into being. I have seen the people who have brought it into being, and I have seen the people who have brought it into being.

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or hindrance, but we are sorry to have a long conflict. If the colored people can have the freedom of the ballot, we have no doubt that in a very short period they will be able to dictate to us who shall be their officers.

I want to ask Mr. Turner whether the colored people in the rural districts of his State, can they vote with any intimidation? Are they not obliged, for the sake of getting employment, which is necessary for the support of themselves and families, to submit to the dictation of their employers?

MR. TURNER.—For about three weeks before an election in Georgia, I suppose the most fearful pressure is brought to bear upon the colored people that was ever known in the history of any voting people. In the first place, every imaginable kind of threat is resorted to, and then all kinds of bribes and promises. The Northern Democratic papers have lured a great deal about the radicals offering the negroes a mile and forty acres of land. It is false in every instance; but on the other side, they have offered houses and land, and every imaginable thing. But the first one who has been found who has accepted a bribe.

The next week after the first election in Georgia, the whole town was doled, and the next men and women who had been charged from their work. Of course, a great many colored persons have not the moral stamina, the trust in God, to see themselves and their wives and children turned out of doors, with no money, no employment, no land that they can claim as their own, the consequence of doing this; but the great bulk of them walk up to the ballot-box and deposit their ballot, and say they will vote the Republican ticket, and stand by the party that defended and freed them. Just in proportion as they get money and get land do they become more independent. A man who goes to work and tells the colored people, "I am not for you, and I am not for you, please," can get more laborers than he can get land to cultivate or money to pay them with. They will flock to him from every direction. All they want is, to be able to give a free expression of their opinion at the ballot-box, without being annoyed three or four weeks beforehand, or perhaps turned off without their pay.

MR. TURNER.—From some facts that have come to my knowledge in connection with the temptations that have been offered to members of Southern Legislatures, I have been led to think that if we have not and so much virtue as to have been able to resist those temptations, our friend made a statement just now which seemed to me too sweeping—that under no circumstances may we ever could any bribe affect a colored man. It may be true in regard to Georgia; but I think it is not true in regard to colored members of the Legislature of South Carolina.

MR. TURNER.—I have said that there was not money enough in the State of Georgia to buy a solitary colored member of the Georgia Legislature, and I say so now. I say that no inducement that could be offered could induce them to go back on the Republican party; at least, so long as they are not corrupted by money, which I hope it will always be. The terrible pressure which has been brought to bear on the colored people in the rural districts has a few instances compelled colored men, if not to vote the Democratic ticket, not to vote at all.

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I will mention one fact, which will illustrate measures of others. Just previous to Gen. Grant's coming out and signifying his desire for the passage of the Constitutional Amendment, the Ohio delegation, some of them old abolitionists, who have taken Mr. Foster and myself in their carriages and transported us for miles, went into caucus and voted unanimously that they would vote against the Constitutional Amendment; but the moment Gen. Grant said he wanted that amendment, they went right-about-face, every one of them, except Bingham. It was self-interest, because they wanted this office for a brother, that for their self-interest, by showing that it is only by protecting the colored man in the exercise of the franchise, that they can save their party from utter wreck, that we shall be able to accomplish our object, I think, therefore, we should make that an important point.

SPEECH OF AARON M. POWELL.

One suggestion made by Mr. Turner seemed to me very pertinent for our consideration in this business meeting, namely, that we should be ready to meet the military commanders in the South. The papers of this morning bring to us the tidings of the assassination in Georgia of another member of the Georgia Legislature. Undoubtedly, for political effect, the President has been shown a suppression, or, at any rate, an ignoring of the real condition of affairs in the South. Before election, the radical Republican papers were vigilant in bringing to notice all the outrages and all the disorder which prevailed throughout the South. It is to the interest of the Republican party, as such, to verify its own predictions in regard to Grant and the effect of his election, to show that we got the facts, or, at any rate, an ignoring of the real condition of affairs in the South. 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PROF. WILCOX, OF WASHINGTON.—Will you pardon me for saying, that the remarks that have been made to-day and yesterday in reference to discontinuing this Society have caused me more earnest thought than I have had for many months past. I have regard to the persecutions and oppressors at the South. It seems to me that this Society, as a band of reformers whose banner has been flying for nearly half a century, have this question to consider, most earnestly: Suppose we settle this question of political power by the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, is that all we can do? Does any member of this Society ask himself or herself, "What is the real cause of the evil?" Is that element of progress that is to advance civilization on this planet resides? Is it in the State? Is it in the Church? Is it in the clergy? Is it in science? Is it in what is called *par excellence*, society? Is there power there? Yes, power of destruction; a power that has made this question a political, a moral and a religious necessity. There would go down from these sources until it could be without it. Every particle of influence that they could exert for the last forty or fifty years has been exerted to the demolition of the very fundamental principle which we so eulogize on the Fourth of July, and what do they propose to do with the eyes of a practical man is calculated to lift your vision one inch beyond the place to which now comes? There is nothing there. In vain we look for it. All that is to make humanity what humanity can be, must come from outside those institutions, and work in spite of them. Now, what power? You have only to look back at the apostolic and primitive organization. They had put these institutions under their feet. They saw that instead of their being a help, they were a hindrance only, and

On motion of Robert Parvis, Prof. Wilcox was added to the list of officers, as Vice-President of the District of Columbia.

Mrs. HARPER.—I would like to ask Mr. Turner what can be done for the people of Georgia. I think our government ought to be wise enough to know its citizens, and strong enough to protect them. I would ask Mr. Turner what hopes our people have, and what encouragement he meets at Washington. It is no time to go to sleep.

Dr. R. T. HALLECK. I will mention, as an encouraging fact, that there are at present in the city certain gentlemen from Virginia, one of whom is the notorious General Laboden, who are here for the purpose of endeavoring to stimulate and direct the attention of that State to the industrial North, with a view to inducing emigration, and the breaking up of those large plantations. They describe the feeling of the South as entirely in favor of Northern emigration, stating that the sentiment is entirely in favor of the North, and that the Farmers' Club, one of our corporations of Virginia said that in certain counties it would not be safe for Southern men to settle, except in sufficient numbers to protect themselves. Gen. Laboden and his Southern friends said this was an entirely untrue statement, and they verified their statement by referring to the newspapers of the North.

not to be an absolute social equality. Society grows out of merit and fitness, and we have always contended that the moment an Irishman or a black man or a German or a Chinese or anybody else grows a genius, he is entitled to the same social privileges of social life, able to make the contributions usual to it, he would be there and ought to be there; and that any man who shot him out of account of his race, his origin, his previous occupation or state, or his color, was essentially against the principle of social life, and against the growth of American civilization, and against the idea. I do not remember the day when the South attempted us in that. I think men much less advanced than Abolitionists knew that. Except for a purpose I do not deny the necessary consequences of slavery on the subject of race. In 1826, there was a discussion on the subject of race, and a young man, a Unitarian, a Unitarian, made a speech which was very strong on the subject of the right of the negro to the same freedom. When he got through, an indignant Southern exclaimed, "Why, sir, do you know what your principles lead to? If that is the result, what is the result?"

platform. Garrison, Mr. Francis Jackson, Samuel Philbrick, Mr. Ellis Gray Loring, the members of the Executive Board of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. "Oh," said he, "what is the use of my going in there? The same old folks will be there, and I shall only be humiliated. I will, of course, but I ain't going to put myself into it. It was not the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society that made him guarantee victory—it was the same old bald heads. It is whatever platform they sit on, not the name under which they sit. So I will not go. I will go to the Convention, as our friends professor says, this Society will be there, and together, as they will, from natural affinity, for the next step, they will carry with them the moral prestige and the moral capital which previous success and discipline have given them. But I will not go, it would be necessary. I do not think, indeed, it would be logical, to continue the organization."

The resolution was amended by substituting the words "all abolitionists," "all true Americans" and is that form adopted.

The Society then adjourned.

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